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Message Text

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41
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6007

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 ROME 3248

EXDIS

FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY HARTMAN

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT, IT
SUBJECT: MISUSE OF CLASSIFIED DOCUMENT: THREE CASE STUDIES

REF: A. STATE 41933, B. STATE 40593, C. ROME 2726

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. WITHIN THE LAST TEN DAYS WE HAVE BEEN FACED IN THE LOCAL PRESS WITH CITATIONS FROM A WIDE VARIETY OF CLASSIFIED AND SENSITIVE USG DOCUMENTS. THIS TELEGRAM PRESENTS THREE WIDELY DIFFERENT CASES WHICH SHOULD BE INSTRUCTIVE FOR THOSE IN WASHINGTON RESPONSIBLE FOR SAFE-GUARDING SUCH SENSITIVE COMMUNICATIONS. FIRST, THE CASE OF THREE EMBASSY ROME TELEGRAMS WHICH WERE RELEASED THROUGH FREEDOM OF INFORMATION PROCEDURES--WITH UNOBSERVED CAVEATS--AND SUBSEQUENTLY APPEARED IN A WEEKLY NEWS MAGAZINE; SECOND, A NEWSPAPER REPORT BASED ON AND QUOTING FROM UNRELEASED TESTIMONY BEFORE THE PIKE COMMITTEE; AND THIRD, ANOTHER NEWSPAPER ARTICLE CITING A PERSONAL COMMUNICATION FROM THE AMBASSADOR (PASS TO PIKE COMMITTEE) CONCERNING THE IMPACT OF PREVIOUS LEAKS. END SUMMARY.

2. THE EMBASSY TELEGRAMS QUOTED IN PANORAMA NEWS MAGAZINE: YOUR TELEGRAM (41933) STATED THAT THESE WERE RELEASED UNDER "FREEDOM OF INFORMATION" PROCEDURES AFTER THE DEPARTMENT LOST ITS APPEAL. TERMS WERE SET IN THAT APPEAL PROCESS, CALLING FOR A NUMBER OF
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DELETIONS FROM THE TELEGRAMS. IN EACH CASE THESE CON-

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DITIONS WERE COMPLETELY IGNORED. IN FACT, EXACTLY THAT MATERIAL WHICH WAS TO HAVE BEEN DELETED, SERVED AS THE FOCUS OF THE "ANALYSIS" OF EACH TELEGRAM. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THE AUTHORS OF THE ARTICLE AND THEIR ASSOCIATE IN THE UNITED STATES ALREADY HAD THE DOCUMENTS IN THEIR POSSESSION WHEN THEY MADE THEIR INITIAL REQUEST, AND THAT THE ARTICLE WAS WELL INTO PREPARATION BEFORE THEY RECEIVED THE DOCUMENTS (WITHOUT THE MATERIAL WHICH HAD BEEN DELETED) FROM THE DEPARTMENT.

3. ASIDE FROM THE FACT THAT THE AUTHORS QUOTED MATERIAL WHICH WAS NEVER OFFICIALLY RELEASED TO THEM, ONE MUST GIVE THEM CREDIT FOR FAIRLY TRANSLATING THE MATERIAL, AND FOR NOT MANUFACTURING QUOTATIONS OUT OF WHOLE CLOTH. IT SHOULD ALSO BE NOTED THAT THEY FELT NO COMPUNCTIONS ABOUT ELIMINATING MATERIAL WHICH MIGHT HAVE HARMED THEIR CASE BY DEMONSTRATING THE REASONABLENESS OF OUR ARGUMENTATION OR THE LEGITIMATE NATURE OF OUR OPERATIONS. THE AUTHOR ALSO DISPLAYED GREAT SKILL AT CONSTRUCTING STRAWMEN IN HIS INTRODUCTORY COMMENTS WHICH SERVED TO DRAMATIZE THE FOLLOWING QUOTED SECTIONS OF THE TELEGRAMS. IN SUM THIS IS A TEXTBOOK CASE OF HOW EVEN INNOCUOUS MATERIAL--ACCURATELY QUOTED--CAN BE MANIPULATED TO DISTORT THE ORIGINAL MEANING, AND SIGNIFICANCE, OF SUCH COMMUNICATIONS. EXAMPLES FOLLOW.

4. ROME'S 13449 (4 DECEMBER 1973). THE AUTHOR GRATUITOUSLY CLAIMED THAT AMBASSADOR HAD BEEN ASSISTED BY MEN FROM THE CIA IN PREPARING THE MESSAGE AND THAT IT HAD BEEN SENT PURPOSEFULLY TO CIA HEADQUARTERS IN ADDITION TO THE DEPARTMENT. THEY THEN CLAIMED THAT IT HAD BEEN PREPARED IN RESPONSE TO INFORMATION RECEIVED FROM THE "CIA STATION IN PRAGUE AND NOTICES FROM THE AGENCY." IN FACT IT WAS STIMULATED BY A TELEGRAM FROM EMBASSY PRAGUE AND REPORTS BY THE WIRE SERVICES.
ARTICLE ALSO CITED FROM SUPPOSEDLY DELETED PARAGRAPH THREE INCLUDING MENTION THAT WE HAD RECEIVED INFORMATION ON THE MATTER IN QUESTION FROM A GOVERN-
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MENT OFFICIAL. WHILE THE SOURCE (CHIEF, EASTERN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS, MFA) WAS SHARING NON-CONTROVERSIAL MATERIAL WITH AN ALLY ON A MATTER WITHIN HIS PROFESSIONAL COMPETENCE WE ARE SURE THAT GIVEN THE POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT HERE HE WOULD HAVE GREATLY PREFERRED COMPLETE ANONYMITY. WE CAN ONLY SPECULATE AS TO HOW MANY OCCASIONS MAY ARISE WHERE OFFICIALS WILL HESITATE TO SHARE USEFUL INFORMATION WITH US OUT OF

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FEAR THAT THEY MIGHT FACE REPRISALS SOME DAY SHOULD THEIR PROFESSIONAL ASSISTANCE TO US BE MADE PUBLIC.

5. ROME'S 12133 (4 SEPTEMBER 1974). THERE WAS NOTHING EXTRAORDINARY IN THE TREATMENT GIVEN THIS MESSAGE (EXCEPT FOR THE FACT THAT THEY QUOTED THE ENTIRE "COMMENT" SECTION (PARAGRAPH FIVE) WHICH WAS TO HAVE BEEN DELETED.

4. ROME'S 17696 (23 DECEMBER 1974). INCREDIBLY OUT OF THREE PARAGRAPHS (7-9) ON THE PCI AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS--MUCH OF WHICH PUTS THE PCI IN A RATHER FAVORABLE LIGHT--THE AUTHORS ONLY USED SENTENCE TWO OF PARAGRAPH EIGHT. THIS SENTENCE, WHICH BALANCED BERLINGUER'S NEED FOR ATTACKING ANY FORM OF US "INTERVENTION" IN ITALIAN POLITICS WITH HIS REALIZATION THAT HE MUST MAKE THE PCI APPEAR LESS THREATENING TO OUR INTERESTS, WAS ONE OF ONLY TWO IN THE FIRST NINE PARAGRAPHS OF THE MESSAGE WHICH THE DEPARTMENT HAD SUCCEEDED IN DELETING. THIS WOULD SEEM TO DEMONSTRATE THAT PROPER CRITERIA HAD BEEN USED IN SELECTING MATERIAL FOR DELETION BUT THAT THE REQUEST WAS NOT MADE IN GOOD FAITH.

7. FROM SENTENCE TWO OF PARAGRAPH TEN (WHICH SHOULD HAVE BEEN DELETED) WE FIND AN INTERESTING SECTION IN WHICH OUR "EMBASSY SOURCES HAVE INDICATED" HAS BEEN CHAGED TO READ "SOURCES CLOSE TO THE EMBASSY HAVE INFORMED US." THEN BUILDING UPON THIS THE ARTICLE CONTINUES "A JOURNALIST (WITH SOCIALIST LEANINGS) MADE KNOWN TO US..." THE AUTHOR CONCLUDED IN HIS INTRO-DUCTION TO THIS PARAGRAPH THAT THE ABOVE "AUTHORI-TATIVELY PROVED THE RECENT REVELATIONS THAT 40 ITALIAN CONFIDENTIAL

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JOURNALISTS ARE PAID BY THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE AND THE CIA TO FUNCTION AS INFORMANTS." THIS DEMON-STRATES HOW ONE PIECE OF OFFICIAL INFORMATION' WHEN RELEASED BY THE GOVERNMENT CAN BE DISTORTED TO "AUTHORITATIVELY PROVE" SOME OTHER EQUALLY DISTORTED HYPOTHESIS.

8. FROM PARAGRAPH 13 BY LEAVING OUT "COMMISSIONED BY CORRIERE DELLA SERA AND PUBLISHED IN THE DECEMBER 8 ISSUE" THE AUTHORS MADE IT SOUND LIKE WE HAD CON-DUCTED SOME TYPE OF COVERT OPINION POLL WITHIN THE PCI. WHILE SUCH AN OVERESTIMATION OF OUR CAPABILITY MIGHT BE FLATTERING, IT ALSO SERVES TO DEMONSTRATE TO THE GULLIBLE THAT OUR "INTERFERENCE" KNOWS NO BOUNDS.

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 W
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6008

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 ROME 3248

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FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY HARTMAN

9. COMMENT: IT WOULD BE INTERESTING TO KNOW WHEN
THE FINAL DECISION IN THE FOI APPEAL PROCESS WAS
REACHED? WHEN IT WAS COMMUNICATED TO THE APPLICANTS?
WHEN AND TO WHOM IT WAS COMMUNICATED IN THE DEPARTMENT?
AND IN WHAT FORM THE MATERIAL WAS ULTIMATELY PASSED
TO THE APPLICANTS? ARE THERE ANY CONTROLS ON
NATIONALITY OF THOSE WHO MAY RECEIVE INFORMATION?
OR CONCERNING WHAT MAY BE DONE WITH THE INFORMATION?
OUR FINAL QUESTION IS WHERE AND HOW DID THEY GET THE
UNCENSORED VERSIONS OF OUR TELEGRAMS?

10. LA STAMPA (FIAT/AGNELLI OWNED) ARTICLE OF 26 AND 27
FEBRUARY ON THE PIKE REPORT: VITTORIO ZUCCONI, LA STAMPA'S
WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT WROTE THAT THE SAME SOURCE WHO
GABE HIM EARLIER--"SINCE CONFIRMED""--PIKE REPORT
DOCUMENTS HAS NOW PROVIDED HIM WITH "THE LAST
AND STILL UNPUBLISHED PAGES OF THE PIKE REPORT CON-
CERNING ITALY." HE CLAIMS GREAT AUTHENTICITY FOR
NEW REVELATIONS BY STATING THAT CONGRESS IS CON-
SIDERING PUNISHING DANIEL SCHORR FOR LEAKING THE
PREVIOUS MATERIAL TO A NEW YORK NEWSPAPER AND THAT
"THE AMERICAN CONGRESS WOULD CERTAINLY NOT OPEN
AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE LEAK OF A FALSE DOCUMENT
SINCE THEY BETTER THAN ANYONE ARE IN A POSITION TO
KNOW THAT IT IS AUTHENTIC, SINCE IT IS THEIR CHILD."

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11. ZUCCONI'S MAIN "REVELATION" IS THAT GENERAL MICELI, UNBEKNOWNST TO THE EMBASSY OR CIA, CHANNELLED AMBASSADOR MARTIN'S 800,000 DOLLARS TO FIFTY ITALIAN POLITICIANS INSTEAD OF USING IT FOR A PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN. THEN WHEN THE FUNDS WERE CUT OFF HE APPEALED TO EMBASSY FOR HELP ON THE GROUNDS THAT POLITICIANS ON HIS PAY-ROLL WOULD TURN AGAINST HIM AND THE US. ZUCCONI CLOSES THE CIRCLE BY STATING THAT SHORTLY THEREAFTER MICELI WAS ARRESTED AND SUNK INTO DISGRACE.

12. HIS SECOND "REVELATION" IS THAT 21 POLITICIANS WERE DIRECTLY FINANCED BY THE CIA DURING THE 1972 PARLIA-MENTARY CAMPAIGN. OF THESE ONE WAS AND IS AN IMPORTANT "NATIONAL LEADER." ZUCCONI THEN SPECULATES THAT THIS "NATIONAL LEADER" MIGHT HAVE REALLY BEEN RECEIVING MONEY FROM MICELI AND NOT FROM THE CIA AND THAT PER-HAPS HE THEN TURNED ON MICELI. ZUCCONI CLAIMS TO KNOW THE NAME OF THE FIGURE BUT THAT IT CANNOT BE DIVULGED OR HIS SOURCE WOULD BE BLOWN AND A NEW "ELLSBERG CASE" WOULD ENSUE.

13. THE ARTICLE QUOTES FROM WHAT PURPORTS TO BE REPRESENTATIVE MURPHY'S EXAMINATION OF "THE ACTING CHIEF OF ROME'S CIA SECTION." HE IS ASKED WHY FUNDS WERE GIVEN TO A CERTAIN MEMBER OF "THE PARTY, WHICH RECEIVED THE MOST FUNDS, AND WHO BECAME (BLANK)? WAS THIS GENEROSITY DUE TO HIS BEING A LEADER OF HIS PARTY? OR TO HIS POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY? OR BECAUSE HE WAS IN A CONTESTED ELECTION? NO, RESPONDED THE MAN FROM THE CIA."

14. THE VOLPE LETTER": BOTH THE ABOVE CITED LA STAMPA ARTICLE AND A SHORT ARTICLE IN IL MESSAGGERO OF 25 FEBRUARY PRINT A TRANSLATION OF WHAT THEY CLAIM IS A LETTER FROM THE AMBASSADOR (THIS WAS MESSAGE SUBSEQUENTLY PASSED TO PIKE COMMITTEE). TO THE DEPARTMENT. THE LETTER IS IDENTIFIED AS BEING "PAGE 260 OF THE (PIKE) REPORT, NOTE 454." THE SLIGHT DIFFERENCES IN THE TWO TRANSLATIONS LEAD US TO BELIEVE THAT THE WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENTS OF BOTH NEWSPAPERS HAVE IN THEIR POSSESSION THE SAME DOCUMENT. IL MESSAGGERO'S
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TRANSLATION READS "(ITALY) IN THE NEAR FUTURE WILL

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BE HAVING IMPORTANT LOCAL AND NATIONAL ELECTIONS. THE RESULTS OF THESE ELECTIONS WILL DECIDE WHETHER (ITALY) MAINTAINS ITS DEMOCRATIC COMMITMENT AND ITS ALLIANCE WITH THE WEST... I AM CONVINCED THAT REVELATIONS OF THAT KIND COULD PRODUCE ELECTORAL VICTORY FOR THE ENEMIES OF THE DEMOCRATIC FORCES WITH WHICH IT IS IN OUR NATIONAL INTEREST TO ALIGN OURSELVES DURING THIS CRITICAL PERIOD IN (ITALIAN) POLITICAL HISTORY. OUR INFLUENCE, OUR EFFICIENCY AND OUR CREDIBILITY ARE AT STAKE."

15. LA STAMPA ON 27 FEBRUARY PUBLISHES RESUME OF ALL PIKE REPORT SECTIONS ON ITALY. THEY PROVIDE SUMMARY OF PAGES 252-256 AND 261-263 WHICH WERE ALREADY PUBLISHED BY LA STAMPA ON 1 FEBRUARY 1976. THEY ALSO PRINT TRANSLATIONS OF WHAT THEY CLAIM TO BE PAGES 257-263 WHICH "ARE UNEDITED AND PUBLISHED FOR THE FIRST TIME TODAY." IN THIS SECTION THEY INCLUDE A FACSIMILE OF COMPLETE PAGE 260 OF THE REPORT WHICH INCLUDE THE ITEMS ANALYZED BY ZUCCONI ON 26 FEBRUARY AND DESCRIBED ABOVE IN PARAGRAPHS 13 AND 14 OF THIS TELEGRAM.

16. IN AN ACCOMPANYING ARTICLE ZUCCONI ASSERTS THAT HE HASFELT COMPELLED TO PUBLISH THIS MATERIAL TO ASSURE THAT "EQUALLY CRUDE AND WRONG ACTS ARE NOT REPEATED. THE NOTICE--COMPLETELY TRUE--THAT FORD PLANNED ANOTHER INJECTION OF FUNDS AT THE END OF 1975 (6 MILLION DOLLARS) AND THAT IT WAS BLOCKED BECAUSE OF JOURNALISTIC REVELATIONS LETS ONE THINK THAT SUCH WORRIES ARE NOT GRATUITOUS." HE CONCLUDES THAT A GROTESQUE "CONFUSED, ARROGANT BUEAUCRATIC AMERICA EMERGES FROM THE PIKE REPORT, (AN AMERICA) AROUND WHICH GRAVITATE POLITICAL CLIENTS, NOT FRIENDS AND ALLIES. BUT THIS IS NOT AMERICA. HAD WE BELIEVED IT WERE WE MIGHT NOT HAVE PUBLISHED THE REPORT EXPOSING THE SCANDAL. WE WANT TO CONSIDER THESE PAGES THE TOMBSTONE ON A PERIOD IN WHICH A POLICY WAS CONDUCTED THAT CAN NOT SURVIVE, WITHOUT TREMENDOUS RISKS FOR THE 'SYSTEM WHICH WAS CONFIDENTIAL

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ITS REASON FOR BEING, IF IT HAD ANY AT ALL."

17. COMMENT: IT IS OUR HOPE THAT YOU CAN USE THESE EXAMPLES IN YOUR EFFORTS TO TIGHTEN UP EXISTING PROCEDURES INVOLVING THE CONTROL AND RELEASE OF CLASSIFIED COMMUNICATIONS. WE WILL ALL BE BETTER SERVED WHEN OUR FOREIGN CONTACTS CAN ONCE AGAIN BE CONFIDENT THAT OUR MOST CANDID REPORTS WILL REMAIN WITHIN

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THE CONFINES OF THE GOVERNMENT UNTIL THEY CAN SAFELY
BE DECONTROLLED.BEAUDRY

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